

1928.]

*Spier, Havasupai Ethnography.*

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in 1897, less than 300<sup>1</sup>; 1899, 261<sup>2</sup>; 1902, 233; 1903, 237; 1905, 174; 161  
1906, 166 (?); 1907, 172. 174

The generation rate, i.e., the interval in years between parent's and child's birth, may be of interest. This is calculated from a revision 163  
of the agency census roll.

Average difference in years between father and child: 33.7 yrs. (103 cases).

Average difference in years between mother and child: 28.2 yrs. (77 cases).

Average difference in years between parent and child: 31.4 yrs. (180 cases).

These Indians resemble the lower Colorado River tribes in general appearance, in build and physiognomy, more than the Navaho, Apache, 144  
and Zuni. Hrdlička notes, however, that "they are physically identical with Apache." The stature of Walapai and Havasupai together is 141  
given by him as 168.4 cm. for men and 157.7 cm. for women.<sup>4</sup> There is 142  
a marked family resemblance within the group.<sup>5</sup> Their light complexions are noticeable; this has been remarked by Garets, Cushing, and Smart.<sup>6</sup>

#### ANNUAL CYCLE

A brief description of the yearly round of life will make the details 221  
of this sketch more coherent.<sup>7</sup> Early spring finds the Havasupai returning to the canyon from the plateau where they have spent the winter. By this time the snows have melted and they must descend to a water supply. The weather being still inclement some use is made of the caves or rock-shelters at the base of the cliffs while they repair the dirt 342  
covering of the houses in the fields below. Spring planting begins in the middle of April; meanwhile they live on corn taken from the little granaries in the cliffs and on mescal gathered from the red sandstone benches where it ripens in May.

Summer life is the fullest of the year. Everyone lives in the village, except for the few who are away trading Hopi and Navaho products with the Walapai or at Oraibi with buckskins of their own or Walapai manufacture. Morning finds the families in the fields; the heat of the afternoon (never excessive) is spent in the sweatlodge or at some favorite 512  
spot gambling and gossiping. Corn ripens throughout the summer, from

<sup>1</sup>Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1897, 104; 1902, 103; 1903, 506; 1905, 1, 101; 1906, 178; 1907, 177.

<sup>2</sup>Statistics of Indian Tribes, 37.

<sup>3</sup>This figure is probably incorrect due to a deficiency in the number of women of child-bearing years (see p. 200). When the mothers are principally old women, as in this case, the figure is too high, because according to chance the younger children of such women would more frequently figure among the survivors than the older. (The longer the course of the children's life the greater the chance of their death.)

<sup>4</sup>Hrdlička, (g), 413.

<sup>5</sup>A peculiar configuration of the whole of the ear is common.

<sup>6</sup>Course, 341; Cushing, 540; Smart, 418.

<sup>7</sup>See also Spier (d).

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most of the houses were rectangular or dome-shaped. Their construction involved no expense. A man needed only poles, brush and dirt; by exchanging work with neighbors, his shelter was soon completed. There were no windows; the low doorways were closed with a blanket or a rough board door, hung on leather hinges. 342 [476]

Everywhere men, women and children were working in their gardens, stirring the soil, planting the seed, irrigating, weeding and cultivating the growing plants, although the sun's rays would not reach them for hours. They boasted that they worked in their gardens and orchards when it was "little light"; then the canyon was cool, the soil soft and pliable. 241 [52]

The fascination of watching them grow their food, preserve it and store it far outweighed my interest in gathering dry statistics, but Mr. Ewing wanted facts and figures. I knew I would encounter difficulties in getting the necessary information, especially from the older people who spoke no English.

At Chickapanyegi's home I watched the family at work on their small plot of ground. Chickapanyegi was irrigating his patch of corn. When he heard me approach, he turned, a quizzical, batlike expression puckering his countenance. The Indians must have noted that same expression, for his name, Chickapanyegi, meant "bat." [55]

Here, again, the people appealed to those benevolent, unseen forces, especially in the first planting of their corn. The planter knelt on the ground, struck a wedge-shaped stick deep into the earth to loosen the soil, then offered a prayer that his corn might grow well, and dropped the seed into the place he had prepared. This done, he made an offering to two white blotches on the wall of the gorge—the first mythical ears of corn given to the people by their gods—by blowing toward them one grain of corn. At the conclusion of this sacred rite, the planting of the remaining ground was done in the usual manner. 241 782

Chickapanyegi's wife was weeding the plot, while his son, Jess, one of my pupils, was stirring the ground with a shaped piece of wood which he pushed through the soil like a small plow. 241

- 854 As soon as the baby is old enough to play with objects fastened to the cradle hood, his hands are released for brief periods. When the mother wants the infant to sleep, she binds his arms inside the blanket so that he cannot wake himself with random hand movements. Each time the mother removes the baby from the cradle (or more likely, whenever she happens to think of it) she molds his legs to make them straight. When a baby cries, he is fed or changed, or he is removed from the cradle for a short time.
- [856] The mother may carry the baby in her arms, hold him close to her body and tickle or caress him. When a baby soils himself, his stool is wrapped in something and placed high in a tree. If the stool is stepped on or mashed, [165] the baby will develop diarrhea. Parents have reason to dread diarrhea, for this is probably the most common cause of infant illness and death.

- [826] Before scissors were available, a baby's fingernails and toenails were pared by taking hold of the nail at one side of the finger or toe and peeling it across to the other side. Nail trimmings are placed on the baby's forehead in order that a girl may always have a large tray full of seeds for winnowing or, in accordance with the more common present day belief, that she may become a good housewife. The significance of this practice for a boy is that he may learn to shoot straight and thus obtain many buckskins for tanning.

- 512 The mother's time is spent almost entirely out-of-doors in good weather. The family eats, carries on its daily activities, and may sleep, 854 in the shelter of a brush arbor or under the shade of a tree. At first, the infant's cradle is propped upright near his mother. Adults and older children of the nuclear or extended families and frequent camp visitors speak to the baby, fondle him, or pick up his cradle, but the child spends much of his time apparently unnoticed by others. Although a baby receives frequent attention, he is not made the focus of everyone's undivided interest.

- 854 A mother keeps her baby near her much of the time. If the infant is fretful, the mother holds him with his cradle lying across her knees while she sits on the ground with one leg extended and the other folded sidewise beneath it. By raising and lowering her bent knee, she moves the cradle rhythmically up and down. To calm the baby, she may sing a lullaby which, in translation, entreats:

- [533] "Tra-la, la-la, la-la  
Go to sleep little baby;  
Tra-la, la-la, la-la  
Your mother is cooking (working?)"

A well baby seldom cries, exhibiting, as a rule, a placid countenance and a generally complacent attitude. During his early months, an infant's cries for food or attention are usually gratified before a high pitch of emotional stress is reached. However, if the mother is busy and no one is available to help, the baby is permitted to cry until the mother has time to



Seventy-two-year-old Mark Hanna is one of the medicine men of the tribe.

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[255] blanket door. When water is sprinkled on the hot stones, it is instantly turned to steam. As the temperature proceeds upward to 140 or 150 degrees, special songs are sung which, in combination with the steam heat, are intended to effect cures of minor ailments. A full length sweat-bath consists of four steamings of about fifteen minutes in length, alternated with short intervals of rest in the shade. After the fourth steaming, it is customary to plunge into the nearby stream.

- 512 By the time the gambling and sweat-bathing are over, the sun is out of the canyon and then men and women drift slowly back to their camps.

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Mark Hanna's ninety-two-year-old sister Susie has outlived two husbands and is the oldest living Havasupai.

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Even the children cease their endless play and turn their steps homeward as their stomachs tell them it is time for the final and heartiest meal of the day.

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If, while the people of the canyon are ending another day, a visitor were walking among them, he might easily speculate that the future of the Havasupais will depend on the wisdom with which they confront the problems arising from the ever-increasing changes in an aboriginal way of life touched as yet but superficially by the Twentieth Century.